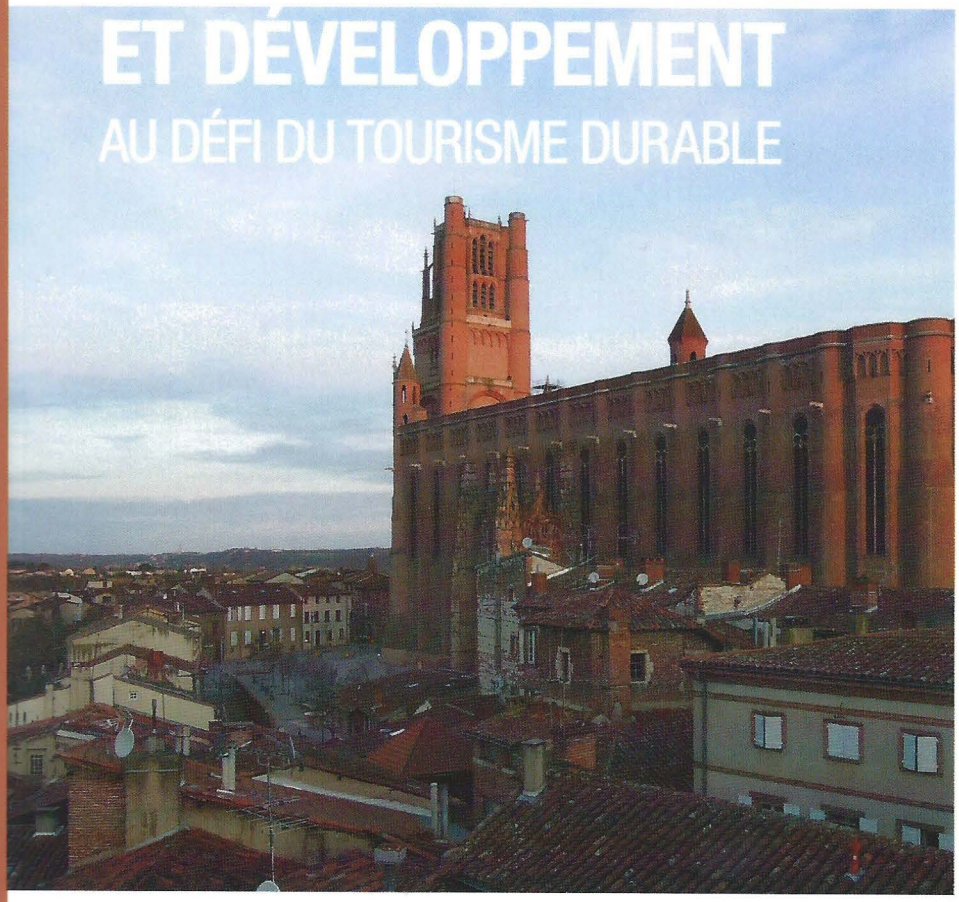
COLLECTION
Nouveaux•patrimoines

PATRIMOINE MONDIAL
ET DÉVELOPPEMENT
AU DÉFI DU TOURISME DURABLE



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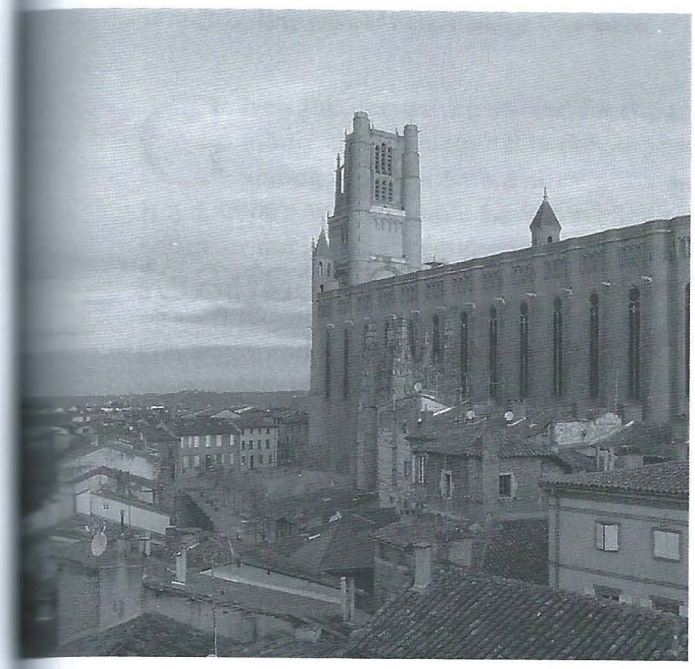

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1972-2012: FORTY YEARS OF WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION
Time to take tourism seriously?

Noel B. Salazar

Abstract

World Heritage Sites across the globe are adapting to the homogenizing standards of tourism at the same time as they are trying to maintain, or even increase, their local particularity. While local and national tourism authorities and tour operators package and sell so-called "authentic" landscapes or "traditional" cultures, what counts as World Heritage—be it material or intangible—and the way it is interpreted is increasingly defined and controlled supra-locally. This paper sketches the broad picture of World Heritage tourism in the 21st century and illustrates the general trends with examples of on-going ethnographic researches on World Heritage Sites.

Résumé

Quarantième anniversaire de la Convention du patrimoine mondial – 1972-2012. Il est temps de prendre le tourisme au sérieux

Sur la planète entière les sites du patrimoine mondial s'adaptent aux critères d'homogénéisation de la prestation touristique en même temps qu'ils essaient de maintenir, même d'accroître leur spécificité locale. Alors que les autorités en matière de tourisme, tant nationales que locales, ainsi que les agents de voyage organisent et vendent des paysages soi-disant « authentiques » ou des cultures « traditionnelles », ce qui constitue le patrimoine mondial – matériel ou intangible – et la façon dont il est interprété est de plus en plus défini et contrôlé à l'échelle supra-locale. S'appuyant sur des exemples de recherches ethnographiques qui ont cours sur des sites du patrimoine mondial, cette communication esquisse un vaste tableau du tourisme patrimonial au XXIe siècle et relève les tendances générales.

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Given the pervasiveness and local particularity of what we commonly call "heritage," it is not surprising that heritage tourism is among those tourism niches growing most rapidly (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). While people have travelled to experience the beauty of nature or the material manifestations that represent the past since ancient times, what is new is the ever-increasing speed, intensity, and extent of such journeys (Salazar, 2010). Private and public sectors worldwide, whether in collaboration or not, are converting heritage resources into destinations and attractions, in a bid to obtain a piece of the lucrative global tourism pie. The amounts spent by visitors on admission fees, souvenirs, transport, and food and accommodation contribute billions every year to the global economy and to millions of jobs, whether direct or indirect (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Beyond economic incentives, heritage tourism serves important symbolic purposes (Breglia, 2006). On the domestic level, heritage is commonly used to stimulate pride in the (imagined) national history or to highlight the virtues of particular ideologies. In the supra-national sphere, heritage sites are marketed and sold as iconic markers of a local area, country, region, or even continent, and the journey abroad as an opportunity to learn about "Otherness"—some sites going as far as promising a contribution to worldwide peace and understanding. Heritage tourism in particular has been advocated as an attractive alternative to mass tourism, providing sustainable livelihoods to small local operators, protecting and sustaining cultural as well as natural resources, and educating tourists and locals alike (NWHO, 1999). Heritage management is now commonly seen as a strategic tool to maximize the use of heritage within the global tourism market (Nuryanti, 1997). This goes hand in hand with the overall trend to privatize goods and services, making heritage tourism more entrepreneurial and entertainment-oriented, and leading to new types of conflicts over ownership and appropriation. The mounting struggles over who controls heritage tourism reflect its growth and success.

Some argue that the globalization of heritage through tourism has led to an increased respect for nature and culture (both material and living). However, the transformation of natural environments and historical sites into attractions, and of cultural expressions into performances, is seldom straightforward. Conservation and preservation along with the development and management of visits are major issues for the heritage tourism sector. The interface and relationship between heritage and tourism at

World Heritage Sites, for instance, is extremely complex. Such heritage tourism can be (mis)used in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes by a variety of stakeholders. In this paper, I want to discuss some of the pressing challenges that lie ahead in making tourism at World Heritage Sites more sustainable. The case study of northern Tanzania illustrates the general trends and shows the urgent need for more dialogue and collaboration between the fields of conservation, World Heritage management, and tourism.

Global standards versus local distinctiveness

Tourism development has been instrumental in globalizing heritage, its management, interpretation, and appropriation (Labadi and Long, 2010). World Heritage management is caught up in a complex web of interconnections and dependencies between stakeholders at various levels. Engaging with global tourism inevitably necessitates a certain degree of worldwide integration and homogenization, which are given tangible forms via the standardization of training, service, and hospitality benchmarks. The challenge of standardization is extremely relevant in the context of World Heritage management. Heritage destinations worldwide may be adapting to the homogenizing trends of tourism, but, at the same time, they have to commoditize their local distinctiveness in order to compete with other destinations (Chang, 1999). After all, it is the local particularity of heritage (sometimes branded as "national") that tourists are most interested in witnessing and experiencing. "The more globalization, of which tourism is a main agent, homogenizes habits and landscapes all around the world, the more whatever is available of the past tends to be iconicized as a symbol for national identification and, in touristic terms, as a unique sight" (Peleggi, 1996, p. 445).

Tourism marketers and imagineers around the globe capitalize on the following assumption: if all places on earth and their inhabitants have a natural environment and culture, and if they both are necessarily unique to a specific place and people, then their transformation into heritage should result in an exclusive product reflecting and promoting a distinctive place or group identity (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). Heritage is thus used to endow peoples and places with what in marketing terms

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is called a product's "unique selling point." Ironically, pioneering projects of originality and uniqueness have been successfully replicated to the point where they no longer express the sense of the locally distinctive identity that was the intention of their creators and proponents.

The increase in tourism has exerted pressure on many World Heritage Sites. The process of "tourismification" (Salazar, 2009b) confronts the stakeholders involved and the communities affected with a whole set of complex issues, including authenticity, interpretation, heritage contestation, social exclusion, contested space, personal heritage, control, and preservation (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Timothy and Prideaux, 2004). In this context, it is important to point out that there are significant economic, social, political, management, conservation, and interpretation differences between developed and developing countries in terms of World Heritage tourism. Notably, poor countries have a hard time achieving the international standards set by both the heritage and tourism sectors (Salazar, 2010). There are many issues in the less-developed world that create everyday obstacles to the sustainable development and management of heritage, including the role of local communities in decision-making, sharing in the benefits of tourism development, empowerment and power, ownership of historic places and artefacts, lack of funding and skills, and forced displacement to accommodate tourism growth (Hampton, 2005). The promise of sustainable heritage tourism becomes all the more difficult to realize if we take into account the fact that low-income nations receive only a fraction of global tourism revenues (UNWTO, 2011).

World Heritage tourism: whose heritage, whose tourism?

The expansive growth of tourism after World War II greatly helped to promote the cosmopolitan idea of a common heritage, to be valued, shared, and enjoyed by the global ecumene. In fact, global tourism and World Heritage recursively reinforce and enhance each other in an ever-growing and influential lobby. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) high profile campaigns to safeguard Abu Simbel in Egypt (1966), Borobudur in Indonesia (1973), and Angkor Wat in Cambodia (1993) are salient examples of that process. World Heritage Sites are considered the centrepiece of global heritage tourism (Shackley, 1998). The World Heritage List is a rapidly growing catalogue of the cultural and natural heritage that, according to the

1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage, is of "outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science" (after having been nominated nationally and accredited internationally). The first twelve sites were inscribed in 1978. Thirty-five years later, the list includes 745 cultural, 188 natural, and 29 mixed sites in 157 countries (with European and Judeo-Christian sites continuing to dominate). The original purpose of World Heritage designation was to assist with the management and preservation of the sites and to encourage the development of management plans. The Convention text does not mention tourism and the regularly updated operational guidelines mainly mention it as a threat to the sustainability of heritage.

Forty years after the Convention, it is hard to think of World Heritage without considering tourism. The mere inscription on the List usually (but not necessarily) coincides with a boost in visitation rates (Pedersen, 2002). UNESCO's recognition thus plays an instrumental role, not only in safeguarding heritage, but also in increasing international visitor numbers (and all the related challenges). Many World Heritage Sites have quickly become major attractions. With millions of tourists visiting the 962 sites (2012 figures) each year, tourism has not only been economically rewarding, it has also become a major management concern. By definition no two sites are alike, but they all share common problems, such as the need for a critical balance between visitation and conservation. Many sites lack trained personnel and policy-makers sometimes do not have the experience necessary to use tourism as a tool for sustainable development.

Only at the end of the 1990s did UNESCO's advisory bodies start paying serious attention to tourism, with the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) establishing an International Cultural Tourism Committee, and the World Commission on Protected Areas of its sister organization—the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)—creating a Tourism Taskforce (later renamed the Tourism and Protected Areas Specialist Group). UNESCO itself can only count on some limited tourism expertise scattered across its various departments. The prevailing importance of tourism over World Heritage, both as an opportunity and, if poorly managed, as a threat, was recognized by the World Heritage Committee when it authorized the World Heritage Centre, in 2001, to develop a Sustainable Tourism Programme. This has resulted, among

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other things, in the edition of a practical manual on tourism management (Pedersen, 2002). In June 2012, the World Heritage Committee approved the second World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme.

Since 2004, the National Geographic's Centre for Sustainable Destinations asks hundreds of experts to rate tourism destinations according to several criteria. The idea behind this yearly exercise is to improve stewardship and attract the most beneficial, least disruptive forms of tourism. In 2006, the panellists evaluated 94 World Heritage destinations. These rankings, together with the biennial World Monuments Watch List of the 100 most endangered cultural Heritage Sites and UNESCO's own list of World Heritage in danger, provide opportunities to raise public awareness, foster local participation, advance innovation and collaboration, and demonstrate effective solutions. Such actions are necessary because the propensity to adopt top-down heritage planning and management procedures has often resulted in the disenfranchisement of local people, giving greater prominence to expressions of national, "official" culture, and nationalism at the expense of local culture (Wall and Black, 2004). That kind of approach has tended to freeze sites and displace human activities, effectively excluding local people from their own heritage.

With tourists' awareness of the significance and location of World Heritage at an all-time high, no wonder governments strategically choose which monuments to nominate (or not) as symbols of supra-national character and culture. While in some instances packaging heritage to cater to a world market appears to be subservient to the nationalistic needs and criteria of the individual countries in which the sites are to be found (Boniface and Fowler, 1993), World Heritage Sites are, *par excellence*, global heritage products. Every international visitor contributes to the globalization of heritage by asserting the universal value of the site and the right of general accessibility to it (Di Giovine, 2008). However, the very concept of universal heritage is increasingly being contested. After all, it promotes an idea originating in the West while it requires an attitude toward nature and culture that originated in Europe. In the discourse of universal heritage, there is little room for specific cultural, political, or religious positions that diverge from Western, secularist viewpoints. The fact that the very concept of heritage is underpinned by the globalization of Western values has prompted challenges, resistance, and misunderstandings.

Today, global heritage tourism largely continues to base policies around a Western-centric network of organizations and technologies. The intergovernmental agencies of UNESCO officially charged with the definition, recognition, designation, and protection of World Heritage (especially the World Heritage Centre and its expert advisory groups such as IUCN and ICOMOS) are often blamed for this bias. While they certainly play a role, it is rather a hesitant and ambiguous one. After all, the sites designated on the World Heritage List represent those national choices and priorities that have successfully been lobbied for, rather than any international standard (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). In other words, intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO offer a forum for national representation rather than world governance. World Heritage is "the sum of scrutinised national heritages, a situation which has the potential to create competition given that heritage becomes an expression of national self-esteem" (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 15). Ironically, UNESCO's apolitical stance toward conservation feeds directly into the heritage-tourism-development nexus created by many governments. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that many countries, especially poor ones, see tourism as a major tool for economic growth, and that such development in the eyes of those in power often equals erasing local, traditional cultural practices.

Of course, World Heritage is but one facet of the move toward globalization, and while a shared heritage is desired by certain countries, it is not a universal presumption. Moreover, UNESCO's idea of a list is not new. Various precursor listings have been compiled over the ages to catalogue the most spectacular natural and cultural heritage in the world. One of the first known inventories was that of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, based on guidebooks popular among Hellenic sightseers, including monuments located around the Mediterranean rim. The only wonder that stood the test of time is the Great Pyramid of Giza, which was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1979 and is one of Egypt's major tourism attractions. That ancient list has since inspired the creation of many similar rankings. Some years ago, the Swiss-based New7Wonders Foundation invited people around the globe to cast their votes on the Internet for the New 7 Wonders of the World. Over 100 million people worldwide participated. The New 7 Wonders of Nature followed soon after. The results were cleverly used by the winning countries to boost both national pride and international visitor numbers. For the same reasons, countries such as Canada, Colombia,

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Making heritage meaningful for a global audience

Although seldom acknowledged, the globalization of heritage through tourism can seriously influence its meaning, both for locals and tourists. It should be remembered that heritage mainly has value because of the selective meanings that people ascribe to it, often through personal identification and attachment. The way people relate to a place is not so much caused by the specific site attributes but by personal motivations and perceptions. Those who view a site as related to their own heritage are likely to behave significantly differently from those who do not share that vision. A single heritage site can provoke varied degrees of understanding—be it on a local, national, regional, or even global scale. In fact, there is no heritage without interpretation, and the attached subjective meanings are always (re)constructed and often contested, because "society filters heritage through a value system that undoubtedly changes over time and space, and across society" (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 2).

> In today's context of World Heritage tourism, "heritage" and "tradition" become all the more intensely rethought, rearticulated, and recreated and contested, both by insiders and outsiders, politicians and visitors. Tourism does not simply impose disjunctures between the "authentic past" and the "invented past," but rather blurs these artificial lines, creating new politically charged arenas in which competing ideas about heritage, ritual, and tradition are symbolically enacted (Adams, 2003, p. 93).

As a tourism construct, a wide variety of individuals and institutions attribute meaning and authenticity to World Heritage (Peleggi, 1996).

The interpretation of World Heritage is important to defining, evoking, and enhancing its meaning (Uzzell, 1989; Tilden, 2007). Making the different layers of multiple and shifting meanings and their dissonances accessible and understandable, for both local residents and tourists from varied backgrounds, requires carefully designed strategies of representation. Interpretative services are not a special favour to visitors; they are an essential part of the work of heritage management. "Successful interpretation is critical both for the effective management and conservation of World Heritage Sites and for sustainable tourism" (Moscardo,

1996, p. 376). This is an extremely challenging task, because the desire to (re)present World Heritage for domestic and international audiences alike often creates a tension around the selection of stories to be told and those to be left untold (Salazar, 2010). Moreover, "although the global heritage dialogue tends to present the environment as an empty container, places of heritage often remain places where real people live and where real conflicts may arise" (Al Sayyad, 2001, p. 22).

What is the impact of globalization on the interpretation of heritage? Alternative readings of World Heritage as imbued with local values and meanings risk being subsumed, and thus erased, by the universalist assertions of global heritage tourism. When the interpretation of heritage crosses boundaries and becomes entangled in the complex web of global tourism, it can have the effect of disembedding locally (or nationally) produced senses of identity. Local heritage interpreters, therefore, play an instrumental role in mediating the tensions between on-going processes of global standardization and local differentiation. Paradoxically, they often seem to rely on fashionable global tourism tales to interpret and sell their heritage as authentically "local" (Salazar, 2007). This is partly because tourists appear to appreciate interpretations that combine narratives about the particularities of a destination with well-known tourism imaginaries that are circulating globally (Salazar, 2012). In tourism to developing countries, for example, marketing has long capitalized on cultural economies of the exotic and the primitive, both of which are to be discovered in the pre-modern and the traditional. However, this does not mean that tour guides merely reproduce normative global templates. In their interactions with tourists, guides become themselves creative producers of tourism rhetoric (Salazar, 2005, 2006).

Highly trained heritage guides not only benefit tourists but also the local community, by preparing and instructing visitors to be more sensitive and ethical, to have a minimal impact and responsible behaviours, and by encouraging respect and proper consideration for local traditions and customs. As of lately, UNESCO also has become aware of the importance of professional tour guiding and the Organization has taken a proactive role in benchmarking heritage interpretation. Increased tourism activities at heritage sites tend to overlook the importance of transmitting knowledge and learning the significance as well as the cultural value of such sites. The UNESCO Asia and Pacific Region office in Bangkok, Thailand, was among the first to acknowledge this. In 2005, it proposed,

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together with the Asian Academy of Heritage Management network, a regional-based programme for heritage tour guide training (UNESCO, 2005). The Macao Institute for Tourism Studies was the first institution to offer a Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The programme aims to address several important challenges arising from the greater and more frequent interface between heritage and global tourism and how on-site tour guides specially trained in heritage guiding can play a central role in meeting these challenges. Noteworthy, this is an example of a "regional standards of excellence" practice, rather than an attempt to create a global benchmark.

The case of Safariland

Due to the abundance of heavily visited protected areas, the regions of northern Tanzania and southern Kenya are commonly known as Safariland. Like Kenya, Tanzania is well aware of the imaginaries of Africa that circulate around the globe and it cleverly capitalizes on the world-known iconology of both its natural and cultural heritage. The country's promotional campaigns for the global market, "Tanzania—Authentic Africa" and "Tanzania: Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and Serengeti," powerfully encapsulate its most famous landmarks. Many of the northern region's wildlife landscapes, especially that of the wide Serengeti Plains, have become popular icons for Africa as a whole, in the form of nature documentaries, Hollywood entertainment, and autobiographic movies, with their perfect romantic and nostalgic vision of an unexplored and time-frozen "wild Eden" (Adams and McShane, 1996). The Ngorongoro Crater, for instance, is often referred to as "Africa's Garden of Eden." Humans are remarkably absent in these imaginaries, although many of the oldest human remains were discovered in and around the Rift Valley (including at Oldupai Gorge and Laetoli in Tanzania), and some scholars have concluded that the true Garden of Eden or cradle of humankind must, indeed, have been located in East Africa (Salazar, 2013).

The emergence and growth of tourism in Safariland is largely determined by the distribution of wildlife and the safari business that has grown around it (Salazar, 2010). Under German and British colonial rules, tourism was first established as a service industry catering to Westerners who came to observe and hunt exotic animals. The Germans declared

Mount Kilimanjaro the world's highest freestanding peak, and the surrounding forests a Game Reserve. The age of Africa's national parks, specifically designed for tourism, began with a 1933 international agreement, The Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in their Natural State, signed in London. Under the British, tourism in East Africa developed on a regional basis encompassing Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda. Colonial administrators decided what was valuable natural heritage and what was not.

The British designated Mount Kilimanjaro to be a Forest Reserve (1921), Tarangire as a Game Reserve (1957), Ngorongoro as a Conservation Area (1959), and Serengeti (1951), Lake Manyara (1960) and Ngurdoto Crater (Arusha) (1960) as National Parks. The establishment of protected areas was as much a process of "Nature" production as one of nature preservation (Neumann, 1998). The government of independent Tanzania continued conservation policies along the same lines. Already in 1961, President Julius Nyerere released his "Arusha Manifesto" (Burnett and Conover, 1989) in which he pledged the protection of wildlife. His government changed Arusha (1967), Tarangire (1970), and Kilimanjaro (1973) into National Parks, and added new forest reserves, game controlled areas, and game reserves. Despite growing population pressures, Tanzanian authorities dedicate over 42,000 square kilometres of the country's territory to the formal protection of wildlife.

Tourism is now the country's fastest growing economic sector and, together with mining, the leading source of foreign exchange. In 2009, Tanzania welcomed around 750,000 tourists and cashed over USD 1 billion in receipts (as compared with Kenya with nearly 1.4 million tourists but only USD 690 million in receipts) (UNWTO, 2011). Around 70% of all tourists arriving in Tanzania visit Safariland. Most come from Europe (Germany, Austria, France, Italy, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Spain) and North America. Promotion and marketing occur mainly through websites and the presence at annual international trade fairs, primarily in the United Kingdom, Germany, South Africa, and Dubai. New targeted markets include China, Japan, Russia, and India. In Tanzania's "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers" (Salazar, 2009a), tourism is identified as a major vehicle for pro-poor growth and poverty reduction. However, while contributing around 4% to the gross domestic product (GDP), the sector employs only 290,000 people, a mere 3% of the total employment (WTTC, 2007, p. 26).

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Arusha, Tanzania's "safari capital," is the tourist gateway to the nearby national parks as well as the celebrated Ngorongoro Conservation Area. The town strategically markets the (colonial) imaginary that, being situated halfway between Cairo and Cape Town, it is "the centre of Africa." Around Arusha, three areas are protected as World Heritage: Ngorongoro Conservation Area (1979), Serengeti National Park (1981), and Kilimanjaro National Park (1987). Serengeti-Ngorongoro (1981) as well as Lake Manyara (1981) are biosphere reserves. Although photographic safaris have largely replaced hunting, most tourists still travel to Tanzania hoping to see the "Big Five," a hunting term historically used to denote the five most dangerous African animals: lion, leopard, rhinoceros, elephant, and buffalo (Herne, 1999).

The Tanzanian government is exploring ways to make tourism more sustainable, though the strategy to be followed is unclear. One major element endangering the sustainability of wildlife tourism is the steady growth of visitor numbers. Regularly increasing entrance fees to national parks have only attracted more people wanting to experience the beauty of the "animal kingdom" before it is too late. Through radio-contact, driver-guides exchange the location of animals on the wide Serengeti Plains, hereby cleverly monitoring and controlling the amount of wildlife shown to their clients. In order to justify a weeklong stay, they make sure that tourists do not see too many Big Five species on one given day. Tanzanian tourism service providers justify themselves by referring to the situation in neighbouring Kenya, where much of the park habitat is killed by off-road driving and far too many tourists.

Sport hunting may well be the ultimate paradox for sustainable tourism in Tanzania. Although most of those involved in conservation and nature tourism find hunting distasteful, cruel, and ethically reprehensible, many admit that if properly managed, trophy hunting helps curb poaching, does less environmental damage, and brings in much more foreign exchange than do photographic safaris. Because the Tanzanian government believes that a hunter brings in 100 times more revenue than does a non-hunting visitor, the country is trying to attract big-game hunters. Unfortunately, because a lot of money is involved in hunting, corruption is common. Local politicians have been accused of granting ownership transfers of large tracts of land without complying with the applicable legal procedures, thus producing great tensions between the government and local communities. Nowhere have these tensions been

more intense than in the Loliondo Game Controlled Area, an expanse of land that comprises about half a dozen villages along the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park.

Through formal and informal learning, local tour guides in Tanzania become acquainted with representations of their heritage that are deeply rooted in foreign ideological and moral imaginaries of Otherness (Salazar, 2006). In the various Arusha tour guide schools, many hours are devoted to explaining World Heritage Sites, biosphere reserves, and conservation areas, and the importance these "quality labels" have for tourists (Salazar, 2010). Keywords in tourism, such as authenticity or sustainability, are elucidated. "*Watu wanathink sustainable*" (people think sustainably) is one of the commonly heard mantras. Not only is natural heritage in Tanzania largely "defined" by outsiders, but to a certain extent, the same is also true for cultural heritage. Because of the communicative power of tourism, representations of cultural heritage have direct and potentially significant influences on the peoples and communities who are being presented, represented, and misrepresented (Salazar, 2012).

Although Tanzania is populated by over 120 different ethnic groups, most foreigners only think of the Maasai as "local people" (Salazar, 2009b). Due to countless coffee-table books, movies, and snapshots, everybody seems to know the Maasai—a fact some business-minded Maasai themselves exploit. To tourists, the sight of a virile Maasai warrior, dressed in colourful red blankets and beaded jewellery, evokes the romantic image of a modern noble savage. Alongside the wildlife, the Maasai are the flag-bearers of Tanzanian tourism. Because of their worldwide image and their presence near the most popular game parks in the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem and tourism hotspots such as Arusha and Moshi (foot of Mount Kilimanjaro), the Maasai are both being pushed and pulled to the front stage of tourism. The relationship between tourism and Maasai has been largely determined by safari imaginaries. Not without irony, some heritage interpreters have expanded the Big Five to the Big Six by including the Maasai people.

For early European explorers who came across that "nomad warrior race," the young Maasai represented the epitome of a wild and free lifestyle. The Europeans reinforced the mythical image of the Maasai as icons of wildest Africa (Salazar, 2009b). In part due to such historical (mis)representations, Maasai are now considered an integral part of the African wilderness, not so unlike wildebeests and zebras, living

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in harmony with nature. In reality, the same protected areas that draw tourists were often created by removing the Maasai people from previously inhabited lands. In 1959, with the establishment of the Serengeti National Park, the Maasai who lived there were evicted and moved to the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. In 1974, they were forced to evacuate some parts of Ngorongoro as well, because their presence was believed to be detrimental to wildlife and landscape. In the 1980s, they faced further restrictions as the conservationist attitude of the government stiffened, in preparation for the recognition of Serengeti-Ngorongoro as a biosphere reserve one year later. According to UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme, which promotes sustainable development based on local community efforts and sound science, such sites seek to reconcile conservation of biological and cultural diversity and economic and social development through partnerships between people and nature. In 2006, the Tanzanian government gave an ultimatum to the Maasai communities living inside Ngorongoro, around 60,000 people, to vacate the area by the end of the year.

Although some Maasai do benefit from wildlife tourism revenues, these riches have not been equitably shared beyond the county councils, who manage the game parks in the Maasai territory, and powerful individuals and families, although some tourism profits are distributed to the community via Maasai-run wildlife associations. Most of the profits go to the government (in the form of taxes) and an ever-increasing number of safari operators, many of whom are foreign-owned. Some Maasai have been accused of peddling falsehoods as a means of enticing foreign visitors. It is partly because of poverty, but more and more Maasai are exploiting the situation and they do not mind fabricating untruths about their culture to make money. People in some areas have resorted to begging or seeking to be photographed for cash. They have become so aware of how to extract money from tourism that foreign visitors on occasion have been horrified at their boisterous and frantic attempts to be photographed and videoed, in exchange for hard cash. There are also constant tensions between safari driver-guides and Maasai communities regarding the entrance fees for tourists to visit Maasai homesteads.

Conclusion

Heritage tourism has become an industry of such global proportion that the local consequences that it produces have generated vibrant discussions over its definition, management, and sustainability. As this paper has illustrated, World Heritage tourism is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it can be a positive force to retain cultural values and to help mitigate threats. On the other hand, tourism can become itself a menace to the sustainable management of World Heritage. Therefore, a good understanding of the tourism sector, its markets and trends is instrumental to sustainable heritage management (Pedersen, 2002). Those in charge of World Heritage Sites clearly need to pay closer attention to reconciling the needs of the various parties involved, each with their own interests. Instead of one universally accepted meaning, the significance of World Heritage—be it natural or cultural, tangible or intangible—is characterized by pluriversality. Viewing heritage and tourism as performative practices involving relational forms of power, agency, and dialogue helps to bridge the micro–macro divide. For tourism to reach its sustainable potential in terms of local livelihoods and biological conservation, one of the key issues is to support efforts to empower local communities to control these economic activities. As this case study of Tanzania shows, a long way still lays ahead.

World Heritage is always enmeshed in complex webs of meaning, variously cherished and expressed by shareholders at different levels. It is imperative to understand how to develop World Heritage Sites sustainably while protecting and conserving them for the long term. Although often heralded as a likely solution to conservation and community development challenges, local staff and communities in poor countries do not always have the resources, experience, or training they need in order to use tourism as an effective instrument for achieving these goals. The tools to provide coherent and sustainable heritage management are yet to be fully developed or effectively applied. Even if there remain great local variations in qualifications, there is a global tendency to standardize, reinforcing the idea that tourism is, indeed, a global practice. I argue that thinking of globalization and local differentiation as being opposed is not very helpful in understanding and explaining contemporary World Heritage tourism. The constant (re)shaping of heritage is in many respects part of and simultaneously occurring with the globalizing process itself. Processes of globalization and localization are intimately intertwined and

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this glocalisation is transforming both culture and nature—through tourism and other channels (Salazar, 2010). Tourism stimulates competing discourses of natural as well as cultural heritage.

As tourism continues to expand, World Heritage Sites will see historically unprecedented numbers of tourists (albeit distributed unevenly). Most indicators suggest there will be a huge increase in tourism worldwide over the next ten years, virtually doubling the current numbers. It is estimated that China alone will produce 100 million outbound tourists by 2025. Interestingly, a large amount of the increased travel for leisure will be intraregional (rather than global). At any rate, the predicted growth of intraregional tourism—1.2 billion intraregional arrivals per year by 2020 (WTO, 2001)—will seriously change the global tourism landscape. For World Heritage tourism, the challenges of global (and, ever more, regional) standardization and local differentiation will take new dimensions. In order to develop sustainable forms of tourism, respectful of the rich natural and cultural World Heritage, industry leaders and policymakers must consider the broader historical and socioeconomic contexts in which tourism is implanting itself. More is needed than a mere change of discourse to make World Heritage tourism more successful and sustainable. While the management of heritage is usually the responsibility of a particular community or custodian group, the protection, conservation, interpretation, and (re)presentation of the cultural diversity of any particular place or people are important challenges for us all...

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